

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

S E C R E T COPENHAGEN 2889

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:  
TAGS: PFOR EC DA NATO  
SUBJ:OLDENBURG'S VIEWS ON US-EC RELATIONS

### SUMMARY

DANISH POLITICAL DIRECTOR OLDENBURG BELIEVES THAT TIME HAS NOW COME FOR FINAL COMPROMISES ON ECONOMIC PARAS OF US-EC DECLARATION OR ON THEIR DELETION. HE INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT DECLARATION TO BE IN FINAL FORM UNTIL JUST BEFORE A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT. NEW EC LANGUAGE ON ECONOMIC PARAS WILL BE FORWARDED TO US; NEXT MEETING OF THE NINE WITH US REPS MIGHT TAKE PLACE AT THE TIME

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OF THE NATO MINISTERIAL NEXT MONTH. THERE HAS BEEN NO DECISION YET AS TO FORM MID-DECEMBER SUMMIT WILL TAKE, WITH FRENCH STILL FAVORING AN UNSTRUCTURED EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. DANES FEEL IT IS INCUMBENT ON HEADS OF GOVT TO CARRY THROUGH WITH PLANS THEY AGREED ON

AT LAST SUMMIT. END SUMMARY.

US-EC CONSULTATIONS

ASKED HOW HE WOULD ASSESS THE RESULTS OF THE DISCUSSION HERE NOVEMBER 14 BETWEEN THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS OF THE NINE AND THE STOESSEL-SONNENFELDT TEAM, OLDENBURG SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT "IN FORM" THE TALKS WENT WELL. HE WENT ON TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT "SOME OF US" FELT THAT THE US HAD NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING ENOUGH IN REGARD TO THE ECONOMIC PARAS AND WERE DISAPPOINTED THAT THE US HAD SUGGESTED SO MANY ADDITIONS. A GENERAL AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE POLITICAL PARAS, HE CONTINUED, PERHAPS BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN WORKED ON SO LONG. NOW IT APPEARED AS THOUGH THERE MIGHT BE A PROTRACTED PERIOD OF HAGGLING ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE ECONOMIC PARAS. FOR HIS PART, HE BELIEVES THE TIME HAS COME TO REACH WHAT HE CALLED A FINAL COMPROMISE, I.E. TO ACCEPT THE VERSION PUT FORWARD BY ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER OR TO DROP THE CONTENTIOUS PARA ENTIRELY AND TO AGREE ON WHAT ONE CAN AGREE ON.

DCM ASKED WHICH OF THE CHANGES US HAD PROPOSED WERE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO HIM, BUT OLDENBURG, WITHOUT BECOMING SPECIFIC, SAID THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES RELATED TO "FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS," AND REPEATED THAT THE TIME HAD COME FOR COMPROMISES. HE THEN OBSERVED, SOMEWHAT AT ODDS WITH THIS SUGGESTION FOR IMMEDIATE COMPROMISES, THAT A POSTPONEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP WOULD MAKE IT ALL THAT MORE DIFFICULT TO REACH FINAL AGREEMENT ON THE DECLARATIONS INVOLVED. IN OTHER WORDS, ACTION WOULD COME UNDER THE SPUR OF A DEADLINE.

OLDENBURG SAID THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION EXPERTS HAD BEEN ASKED TO COME UP WITH SOME NEW LANGUAGE AS A RESULT OF THE NOV. 14 MEETING. WHEN THIS LANGUAGE IS PRODUCED, THE DANES WILL FORWARD IT TO WASHINGTON. THEY HOPE TO GET OUR RESPONSE THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS; HE, FOR ONE, DOES NOT SEE THE NEED FOR ANOTHER MEETING OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS WITH STOESSEL AND SONNENFELDT IN COPENHAGEN. SINCE ALL WILL BE IN BRUSSELS FOR THE NATO MTG (THE IRISH POL DIR MIGHT VISIT BRUSSELS) THAT WOULD BE A LOGICAL TIME FOR THE

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NEXT EXCHANGES.

FONMIN'S MEETING NOVEMBER 20.

OLDENBURG SAID HE THOUGHT THE NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS MIGHT SPEND SOME TIME DISCUSSING US-EC RELATIONS AT THEIR COPENHAGEN MEETING NOVEMBER 20, IN THE LIGHT OF THE NOVEMBER 14 TALKS, BUT HE DID NOT EXPECT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME OR ATTENTION TO BE DEVOTED TO THE SUBJECT AT THIS TIME SINCE THE MINISTERS ARE NOW FACED WITH THE PROBLEM OF A SUMMIT AS WELL AS WITH THEIR REGULAR AGENDA. THE MIDDLE EAST WOULD CERTAINLY ARISE ALTHOUGH, IN VIEW OF THE FRENCH ATTITUDE, HE COULD NOT PREDICT WHETHER THERE WOULD BE A NEW TRY AT A COMMON DECLARATION DIRECTED AT THE ARABS.

THE SUMMIT

AS TO THE SUMMIT DECEMBER 14-15, OLDENBURG SAID ACCEPTANCES HAVE BEEN RECEIVED FROM THE OTHER EIGHT. THE SUMMIT WILL, THEREFORE, TAKE PLACE UNDER DANISH CHAIRMANSHIP ALTHOUGH, HE SAID, THE DECEMBER 4 ELECTIONS MAKE THE IDENTITY OF THAT CHAIRMAN A MYSTERY.

A MAJOR DIFFICULTY FACING THE NINE IS WHAT FORM THE SUMMIT SHOULD TAKE. A "FIRESIDE CHAT" AMONG HEADS OF GOVT PLUS ONE PRIVATE SECRETARY, AS THE FRENCH SEEM TO WANT. (ANOTHER MFA OFFICIAL COMMENTED WRYLY TO AN EMBASSY OFFICER LAST WEEK THAT ALTHOUGH POMPI-DOU HAS INDICATED HE WANTS A SUMMIT MEETING WITHOUT PROTOCOL, THE ONLY INDIVIDUAL SO FAR DESIGNATED TO ACCOMPANY THE FRENCH PRESIDENT IS A PROTOCOL OFFICER.)? A MORE STRUCTURED GATHERING WITH FOREIGN, ECONOMIC, FINANCE (AND PERHAPS OTHER) MINISTERS, AND THE COMMISSION? SHOULD THERE BE A DECLARATION TO SIGN? HE DID NOT KNOW HOW THESE QUESTIONS WOULD BE ANSWERED. OLDENBURG DESCRIBED THE DANISH ATTITUDE AS "PRAGMATIC". THEY WANTED TO GET THINGS DONE, TO FORCE THE HEADS OF GOVT TO MAKE WHAT THEY REGARD AS THE NECESSARY DECISIONS. AFTER ALL, OLDENBURG SAID, IT WAS THE HEADS OF GOVT THEMSELVES AT THEIR LAST SUMMIT WHO AGREED THAT CERTAIN MATTERS HAD TO BE SETTLED BY THE END OF 1973. IF THEY CANT FACE UP TO THIS, HE CONCLUDED, "SOMEONE WILL HAVE TO PAY."

COMMENT

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IN MOST OF HIS REMARKS OLDENBURG SEEMED TO WANT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS SPEAKING AS THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS, AND HE WAS PROBABLY TRYING TO SIGNAL THAT IN THEIR VIEW A GREATER MEASURE OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMMISSION'S LANGUAGE ON THE ECONOMIC PARAS WAS EXPECTED FROM THE U.S. IN FACT AT ONE POINT IN THE CONVERSATION HE STATED THAT THE NINE WANTED TO BE CONSIDERED AS MORE EQUAL PARTNERS, WHICH PERHAPS TO HIM MEANT ACCEPTING MORE OF THEIR FORMULATIONS. AGAIN AND AGAIN, OLDENBURG (AND OTHERS) HAVE STRESSED TO US THE DIFFICULTY OF GETTING THE NINE TO AGREE ON COMMON POSITIONS. THE ATTEMPT TO DO SO BRINGS ITS INEVITABLE STRAINS.

GERMAN AMBASSADOR AHRENS TOLD DCM NOV 16 THAT HE HAD HEARD FROM VAN WELL THAT LATE ONE EVENING (PROBABLY NOV 12) THE USUALLY PLACID OLDENBURG HAD EXPLODED AT PUAUX AND ACCUSED HIM OF IMPEDED THE PROGRESS OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS.

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